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FIG. 1. KORYAK CHILDREN.

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FIG. 2. TUNGUS BOY AND KORYAK BOY WRESTLING.

[Facing p. 412]

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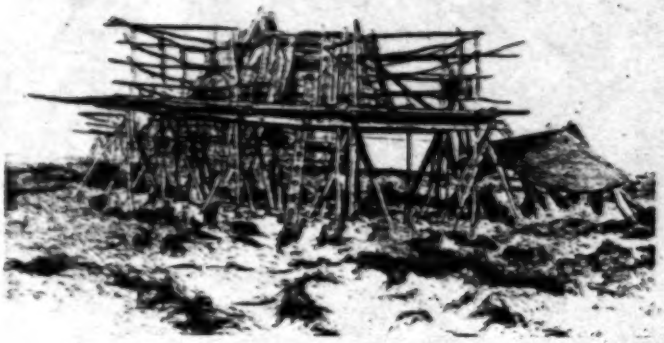

FIG. 1. STOREHOUSE.

●524

FIG. 2. TENTS AND POLE-GAME.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 467: C]

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ladle, and boxes for harpoon-heads, in the form of whales;[1] and among the Eskimo of Hudson Bay we find ivory needle-cases carved in the form of whales.[2]

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I believe that the æsthetic taste is as strong and spontaneous a longing of primitive man as are beliefs. Whoever has lived among primitive people knows well how strong is their passion for all kinds of ornaments. In one of his stories from the life of the Chukchee, Mr. Bogoras pictures a hunch-back shepherd gathering variegated pebbles, and spending his leisure time in laying them out in different combinations for his own pleasure.[3] Mr. Bogoras told me personally that the incident was drawn from real life. Undoubtedly there are cases when an article which first served as an amulet becomes, in the course of time, an ornament; but there are cases, on the other hand, when an article of art becomes an amulet later on. For that reason we must prove in each particular case the course of inter-action of the two psychological factors, — the religious and the æsthetic, — and this it is not always easy to settle. Taking, for instance, the wooden figure of the whale for the whale festival,[4] it is difficult to tell whether the whale-carving was first made from a mere desire on the part of the artist to imitate nature, or whether the necessities of the ritual furnished the impetus for carving the whale. Personally I am inclined to the former hypothesis. We find a similar phenomenon in the Eskimo custom of putting the carving of a whale into the mouth of a new-born male infant in order to make him a good hunter.[5]

In the Koryak carvings, and to a certain extent in those of the Eskimo, in so far as they are not adapted to practical wants, we have an excellent illustration of the spontaneous development of primitive art independent of religion. Those amulets which consist of wooden limbs or parts of animals, instead of the entire animal, cannot be classed with pure art, because they serve, not as expressions of real sense-impressions, but of vague ideas of anthropomorphism and the substitution of a part for a whole. This accounts for the crudeness of the images of Koryak idols, as pointed out by me before, which distinguishes them from carvings made for the pleasure of carving. Ornamental carving still retains in many cases the realism and the finesse of art for art's sake: such as, for instance, the mountain-sheep on the spoon illustrated in Fig. 184, *b*.

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Less attention is paid to finish and realism in the carving of toys. A large number of objects in miniature carving, used as toys, are very poorly executed. These objects can easily be recognized by the hole made in them, by means of which they can be strung on a thong. Children quite frequently

[1] See Murdoch, Fig. 45, p. 105; Fig. 252, p. 249.
[2] See Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, Fig. 136, p. 93.
[3] Tan-como-de-plume of Mr. Bogoras), Sketches and Stories, Vol. III, Chukchee Stories (St. Petersburg, 1900), p. 120.
[4] See Part I, Fig. 30, *a*, p. 72.
[5] See Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 160; Nelson, p. 290.

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carry whole bunches of such toy carvings so strung. Probably for the same purpose, many Eskimo carvings have holes in them. The workmanship of the walrus-bone carving in Fig. 174, *a*, representing a woman with a child, may be explained by the fact that it was meant for a toy.

Dolls. — In connection with the carvings which serve as toys, and are made by men, I will speak briefly of the dolls, which are made by women. They differ from carvings which represent human beings, first of all, by the fact that the main attention is paid to the dress of the toy, which is made by the women and girls very carefully and tastefully. In this respect the Koryak dolls are much like those of the Eskimo. Dolls representing women show underneath the coat the wide trousers of the combination-suit tucked into the boots; while the head has braids of hair, wool, or beads, attached on the side or at the back. Fig. 186, *a*, shows a doll representing a woman with braids, but the long coat conceals the wide trousers of the woman.

Fig. 186, *b* and *c*, shows two dolls representing Koryak men, — one in a travelling-coat, and the other

Fig. 186, *a* (1/11), *b* (1/11), *c* (1/11). Dolls. Height, 23 cm., 13.5 cm., 16 cm.

in a house-coat. No attention is paid to the face in making dolls. In *c* we find a particularly well carved and typical wooden face; but in *b* there is, instead of a head, a leather cone in the form of a sugar-loaf, with beads attached in the place of eyes. It is interesting to note that dolls are often made with conical heads in a way similar to that in which the Koryak and the Kamchadal represent a certain class of "guardians" and spirits.[1]

Even more primitive is the doll of the Reindeer Koryak shown in Fig. 187. It is made of the hoof of a new-born reindeer, and represents a girl with her hair dressed. This doll, by its conventionalism, fully corresponds to the wooden limbs representing "guardians."

1 See Part I, p. 38.

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321 *Bone Chains.* — In speaking of the skill of the Koryak in carving figures of human beings and animals from bone, the art of carving chains with whole unbroken links from walrus or mammoth ivory must also be considered. Although the completed chain shown in Fig. 188, *f*, resembles in shape a metallic watch-chain, and would seem to be an imitation of it, yet the bone chains, heavier than these, serving as handles for baskets, buckets, etc., were carved by the Chukchee and the Koryak long before they met the Russians. Krasheninnikoff, in his time, could not help admiring the workmanship of such chains made from walrus-tusk, and brought to Kamchatka from the Chukchee Cape.[1] Among the Eskimo bone bag-handles, we find even now chains with links carved out of a single piece of ivory. In Nelson's collection there are numerous specimens of chains that serve as bag, drag, and other handles.[2]

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Fig. 187 (2114). Doll made of a Reindeer-Hoof. Height, 10 cm.

Chains of different sizes, carved out of a single piece of bone or wood, and serving as handles and for other purposes, are found also among the Gilyak and Ainu. Specimens of such chains are in the American Museum of Natural History as well as in the British Museum in London, and in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin.

463 321 Not all the Koryak are equally skilful in the work of carving in general, and of chain-carving in particular. In each locality there are men who are specially skilful in this or that branch of the art. Thus, for example, there is a blacksmith in Paren, on the western coast of Penshina Bay, by the name of Kıya'učnın, who is known for his skill in carving bone figures of men and animals; while the Koryak A'xa, of Shestakovo, is known for his ability in carving bone chains.

321 Fig. 188 represents chains of his workmanship in all stages: *c* is a sawed-off piece of walrus-tusk; *d*, a piece which has been whittled down with a knife to a quadrilateral form bearing the marks of the first few future links; *e* shows the progress of the work in carving the links; and *f* represents the completed chain. Here we notice that in carving the links, the chain *f* has gained in length as compared with the tusk, as shown in *d*, to the extent of 12 cm., the tusk being 32 cm. long, while the chain measures 44 cm.

The Koryak used stone implements in working bone before they knew of iron. The walrus-tusks were split into strips by means of stone chisels and wedges, and the work was continued by means of stone knives and awls. At present tusks are sawed by means of an iron saw, home-made or imported, and the rest of the work is accomplished with the aid of a knife.

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[1] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 50.

[2] See Nelson, Plate XLIII, Fig. 1; Plate XLVI, Figs. 4, 7, 10; Plate LII, Fig. 16; Plate LXVI, Figs. 18, 19. See also Hoffman, Plate LV, Figs. 1–3.

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487 and Vladivostok is by way of Irkutsk, Yakutsk, and Okhotsk. Thus a message from the Governor to the chief of the district of Petropavlovsk, for instance, if sent in autumn, can reach its destination only in spring.

526 Racing and Games. — Reindeer and dog racing, as well as walking-contests, are popular pastimes with the Koryak. As I have mentioned above, reindeer-racing among the Reindeer Koryak assumes a religious character, which walking and dog-racing do not possess. Reindeer-races, with or without prizes, take place very frequently; dog-racing, on the contrary, is of rare occurrence; while walking-contests are equally popular with the Reindeer and the Maritime Koryak.

On Plate xxxviii, Fig. 1, is represented a walking-contest of the Reindeer Koryak which took place on the Topolovka River towards the close of the winter. At the start the contestants formed a transverse line; but, as the stronger members gradually gained headway, the line became longitudinal. Thus they walked for a distance of about two miles to a marked goal, and back again to the starting-point, where the first to arrive tore down a package of tobacco from a pole erected in the snow. The participants in the race not only pay attention to the rapidity of their motion, but also attempt to take long steps, jumping occasionally, and throwing their feet up out of the soft snow.

524 I also witnessed the following games played, some by adults, others by children.

The raven-game (we'lve-či'ttkın), is represented on Plate xxxviii, Fig. 2, where the mother-raven, and the young ravens standing behind her, may be seen. The raven that stands facing the mother-raven tries to catch the young ones and eat them, while the mother exerts herself to the utmost to prevent it from doing so. In spite of her efforts, it catches them one by one and drags them to its side. In this game, men and women alike take part promiscuously. In some games men and women separate into two mutually antagonistic groups. Such is the case in the game of "playing house," or koyayačelañın (see Plate xl, Fig. 2). The men join hands and form an inner circle, which stands for the house; while the women surrounding it on all sides try to destroy the house by pulling apart the hands of the men. An animated fight ensues, during which the women, kicked by the men, fly off in all directions, and many fall to the ground, but presently pick themselves up and return to their task with renewed vigor. If the women are more numerous than the men, they always succeed in destroying the house.

A variation of the "raven-game" is the game wıta'yočñın ("[a sack] filled with moss"). The participants sit down on the ground in such a way that each one finds himself between the legs of the one behind him. The first in this row represents the mother, the rest are the children. Then Ka'la (the cannibal) approaches, saying, "Give me a child or I will eat you." —

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524 "These are not children," she answers, "but sacks filled with moss." — "Let it be moss," replies Ka'la, and grabs the hindmost child. He does the same with all the other children; but when he gets to the mother, she kills him and takes back all her children. The designation of children as "sacks filled with moss" recalls an episode of the Koryak-Eskimo tales, where the people save themselves from a cannibal through flight, leaving in their stead clothes stuffed with moss.[1]

In the "marmot game" the participants join hands and form a circle; while two individuals represent a dog pursuing a marmot, which keeps on leaving and entering the circle.

526 A very common game, or rather physical exercise, is that of running around a circle. In the villages of the Maritime as well as in the camps of the Reindeer Koryak, when the day's work is done, and before supper is served, youths may be seen running around in a circle, while the old people sit on the snow not far away from the players. From the running, a firm circle is trodden down in the snow. The evening games are discontinued with the approach of spring, when frosts no longer occur.

Besides racing, various kinds of contests are arranged. Before a fight the young men strip themselves to the belt and rub their bodies with snow. Various forms of combats are represented in the carvings in Figs. 166 and 167 (pp. 650, 651). Among the Reindeer Koryak a common form of contest is jumping over a reindeer. Ball-playing is as popular with the Koryak as it is with the [574] Chukchee.[2] In olden times the Koryak, like the Eskimo, used to have a 524 ball-game with strangers before entertaining them.[3] Small children play with 857 dolls, represented in Figs. 186 and 187 (pp. 669, 670); also with animals carved of wood or bone, and toy vessels, drums, and tents. The older children play dog and reindeer driving. Some put on the harness, others sit on the sledge (Plate xxxix). Children have races and contests similar to those of adults.

A favorite game of boys of the Reindeer Koryak is the following. A long thong is fastened to an inclined pole sticking out of the snow. To the lower end of the thong a piece of wood or a bone is attached. The thong is swung to and fro, and the players try to lasso the stone. Thus the boys acquire practice in the skilful handling of the lasso, presently to be used in catching running reindeer (see Plate xxi, Fig. 2). Of similar character are the target-shooting contests of the boys, in which toy boys are used. An old mitten suspended on a stick in the snow serves as a target.

Among other toys, the spinning-top must be mentioned. There is also a kind of cup-and-ball game called oxxa'ltin, in which a hollow piece of wood is thrown up and caught on a peg provided with a cross-piece. The Chukchee have a somewhat similar game called o'kkal.[4]

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[1] See Part I, pp. 181, 212, 331, 364, 365.
[2] See Part I, pp. 129, 163.
[3] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 271.
[4] Ibid., p. 272.